

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 123854
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 123854

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO

SUBJECT: LTDP - DPC STRATEGY

REFS: (A) USNATO 4702, DTG 111512Z MAY 78
(B) USNATO 4613, DTG 091332Z MAY 78
(C) USNATO 4626, DTG 092008Z MAY 78
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 123854

(D) STATE 121032, DTG 120012Z MAY 78
(E) STATE 122352, DTG 122341Z MAY 78
(F) USNATO 4699, DTG 111213Z MAY 78
(G) USNATO 4626, DTG 092008Z MAY 78
(H) DPC/D (78)7, 10 MAY 78

1. REF A VERY HELPFUL IN OUR PLANNING FOR DPC STRATEGY
ON LTDP. IF POSSIBLE IN SHORT TIME REMAINING WE WANT
TO WORK OUT COMPROMISES ON AS MANY CONTENTIONS ISSUES
AS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE DPC, ON GROUNDS THAT THERE STILL

WILL BE PLENTY REMAINING WHICH SECDEF MUST DEAL WITH. IN RECENT DAYS UE HAVE LOBBIED HARD TO CLARIFY THE ISSUES MOST WORTHY OF MINISTERIAL ATTENTION, AND HAVE TRIED TO GET MOST OF THE INCONSEQUENTIAL RESERVATIONS WITHDRAWN. NOW WE MUST ADDRESS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES THAT WILL GIVE US A BOLD LTDP BUT NOT PUSH ALLIES BEYOND THEIR LIMIT.

2. CANADIAN PROPOSALS (PARA 5-7, REF A) FALL IN COMPROMISE CATEGORY. EXCEPT FOR SEVERAL POINTS MENTIONED BELOW, WE HAVE NO SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS WITH PARAGRAPHS 3, 4 AND 48A OF REF H, AS PROPOSED BY CANADA, AND CAN ACCEPT THEM. HOWEVER, IF YOUR CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS INDICATE PROBLEMS, YOU SHOULD WORK OUT AGREED LANGUAGE PRIOR TO MINISTERIAL. FINALLY, IF PARA 3 IS REWORKED AND AGREEMENT NOT REACHED ON COMPROMISE WORDING, YOU MAY SUGGEST ALL NATIONS ACCEPT IT AD REFERENDUM, SUBJECT TO POSSIBLE PERMREPS REVISION AFTER AGREED PART III OF E-W STUDY PRODUCED.

3. MORE PARTICULARLY, IF PARA 3 ON RELATIONSHIP WITH EAST-WEST STUDY IS REWORKED, WE FEEL THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 123854

FOLLOWING CHANGES WOULD STRENGTHEN THE PARAGRAPH:

A. THE TITLE SHOULD BE CHANGED TO READ: "RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY", IN ACCORD WITH NAME USED IN STUDY ITSELF.

B. LINE 4 SHOULD BE CHANGED TO READ; "...AND INTERNAL POLICIES WITHIN THE SAME TIME FRAME AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. THE STUDY PROVIDES THE ...". INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE IN PRESENT TEXT DESCRIBES ONLY PART OF THE STUDY MANDATE.

C. THE SECOND SENTENCE SHOULD BE CHANGED TO TWO SENTENCES AS FOLLOWS: "THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WILL UNDOUBTEDLY UNDERGO CHANGES IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. ALL EVIDENCE TO DATE SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT THE NEW SOVIET LEADERS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO BREAK THE BASIC CONTINUITY OF PRESENT SOVIET POLICIES." WE ARE CONCERNED THAT DESCRIBING THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AS "CONSERVATIVE" MIGHT BE MISINTERPRETED. WE ALSO WANT TO AVOID ANY ABSOLUTE STATEMENT ON THE CONTINUITY OF SOVIET POLICY.

4. AS REGARDS PARA 48A, WE BELIEVE THE PARA SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO THE DETENTE HALF OF THE ALLIANCE'S BASIC POLICY OF DETERRENCE AND DETENTE. THIS WOULD ALSO FOLLOW LOGICALLY ON PARA 4'S DISCUSSION

OF BOTH ASPECTS OF NATO BASIC POLICY. WE SUGGEST ADDITION, AFTER "REQUIREMENTS OF THE 1980S AND BEYOND," OF THE PHRASE "TO CONTINUE THEIR PURSUIT OF DETENTE, INCLUDING EQUITABLE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MEASURES, AND TO HARMONIZE NATIONAL

POLICIES TOWARD THESE ENDS;".

N.B. LEST THIS RISKS OPENING UP THIS PARAGRAPH
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 123854

TO AN UNHELPFUL "REDRAFTING" SESSION AND RAISING CANADIAN PIQUE, MISSION SHOULD APPROACH CANADIAN DELEGATION FIRST TO MEASURE AND GAIN THEIR SUPPORT. IF THEY AGREE, IT WOULD BE IDEAL IF THEY WOULD MAKE THE ADDITION THEMSELVES THUS AVOIDING MAKING THE PARAGRAPH FAIR GAME FOR ALL.

5. LTDP FOLLOW-THROUGH MACHINERY AND NATO STAFFING IMPROVEMENTS (PARA 9 AND 10, REF A) ARE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON OUR LIST OF MEASURES REQUIRED TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF LTDP. EVEN IF WE GET A BOLD LTDP, VIGOROUS FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTION IS ESSENTIAL TO INSURE INDIVIDUAL MEASURES ARE NOT LOST IN THE NOISE.

A. THIS IS WHY WE ARE SO STRONG ON ASSIGNING ONE NATO BODY, PREFERABLY AN MNC IN FOUR CASES TO COORDINATE IMPLEMENTATION OF MAJOR SUBPROGRAMS AND REPORT TO MINISTERS WHAT CHANGES ARE NEEDED. WE LIKE YOUR "HALF A LOAF" APPROACH ON PROGRAM COORDINATORS (PARA 10C, REF A), IF IT INCLUDES PROPOSED LANGUAGE IN DECISION SHEET. SO MUCH DEPENDS ON WHETHER AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON SYG ON 16 MAY INDICATES POSITIVE LUNS RESPONSE.

B. IN THAT CASE, PER YOUR PARA 9, REF A, WE WILL SUGGEST SECDEF WITHDRAW FOOTNOTE ON "STRENGTHENING NATO'S INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY" AT MINISTERIAL AFTER EXPRESSING US VIEWS ON THIS MATTER TO MAKE THEM A MATTER OF RECORD. HOWEVER, WE WOULD THEN WANT TO STRENGTHEN PARA 48 (F) TO "CALL FOR VIGOROUS FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTION TO BE TAKEN AT NATO ... INCLUDING A STUDY ON STRENGTHENING ..."

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 123854

C. SECDEF CAN REINFORCE THESE TWO COMPROMISES DURING HIS COURTESY CALL IF YOU DETERMINE AT YOUR 16 MAY MEETING THAT LUNS (1) IS COMMITTED TO STRONG FOLLOW-THROUGH AND NATO STAFFING IMPROVEMENTS,

(2) WILL SO STATE TO MINSITERS, AND (3) WILL ARRANGE FOR APPROPRIATE WORDING TO BE PLACED IN DECISION SHEET.

6. DUTCH BRIGADE (PARA 11A, REF A). PRESENT INDICATIONS LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT THE BEST WE CAN GET IS "CONTINUED STUDY" OF WAYS TO GET MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. THIS WILL ALSO PROVIDE MOD SCHOLTEN MORE TIME TO WORK ON MATTER WITH DUTCH

GOVERNMENT. WE AGREE WITH YOUR SUGGESTION AND INTEND TO ASK SYG TO DEFER DISCUSSION AT DPC UNTIL AFTER MULTILATERAL, IF IT IS NECESSARY AS DETERMINED BY AGENDA AND TIME FOR MULTILATERAL.

7. AFCENT LOGISTICS COMMAND (PARA 12, REF A). WE CONSIDER YOUR RECOMMENDED APPROACH ON AFCENT LOGISTICS COMMAND TO BE TOO WEAK ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF SIGNS THAT FRG MAY JOIN US. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THE SOLUTION INDICATED IN OUR FOOTNOTE.

8. ASYG FOR LOGISTICS (PARA 13, REF A). WE LIKE YOUR SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE ASYG FOR LOGISTICS AND STRENGTHENING LOGISTICS STAFF SUPPORT AT NATO HQS WE WOULD STRESS THAT AMBASSADOR BUILD UPON THIS APPROACH WITH LUNS ON 16 MAY CALL.

9. SEVEN-DAY COMMAND CONTROLLED MUNITION STOCK (PARA 14, REF A). CLEARLY CONCUR NATIONS NOT READY FOR THIS YET, SO SECDEF WILL PROBABLY WITHDRAW US FOOTNOTE AND ACCEPT TEXT WHICH STUDIES THE NEED. WE UNDERSTAND THAT ELEMENTS IN FRG "WARM" TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 123854

IDEA, BUT FEAR SOME OF THE SMALLER CENTER REGION ALLIES MAY LAY BACK FROM REACHING 30-DAY WRM LEVEL IN EXPECTATION THAT THEY COULD DRAW ON THIS AFCENT STOCKPILE. SUCH IS NOT THE CASE. WE ANTICIPATE AFCENT STOCKPILE NOT STARTING UNTIL ALL CENTER REGION ALLIES HAVE REACHED 30-DAY LEVEL IN THE MUNITIONS SELECTED FOR STOCKPILE. SINCE THIS WON'T BE FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS FOR ALL NATIONS EXCEPT OURSELVES, AN "AGREEMENT TO STUDY THE NEED" CAN KEEP THE ISSUE ALIVE UNTIL A MORE APPROPRIATE TIME. YOU CAN INFORM SYG OF THIS POSITION, BUT WE WILL WAIT UNTIL DPC TO WITHDRAW FOOTNOTE.

10. WE AGREE WITH UK FOOTNOTE DEFINING "COOPERATION" ON PARA 14, DRAFT REPORT TO SUMMIT, AND THEREFORE YOU CAN SO INFORM IS (REF F).

11. PLEASE ADVISE SYG THAT US WITHDRAWS FOOTNOTE

1, APPENDIX 2 TO ANNEX A.

12. YOU INDICATED IN PARA 1H (4), REF G, THAT US AND FRG POSITION IN ANNEX II ON "STRENGTHENING MAS" WAS ACCEPTED AND WOULD BE INCLUDED IN TEXT WITH BELGIUM, ITALY AND NETHERLANDS RESERVATION IN FOOTNOTE. WE

NOTE THAT US AND FRG POSITION REMAINS AS FOOTNOTE (1) TO PARA 12(B)(IV), ANNEX H. THE IS SHOULD ASK THE SYG TO CLARIFY THIS POINT BEFORE OR DURING THE MINISTERIAL. IF US AND FRG FOOTNOTE REMAINS AT MINISTERIAL, SECDEF (AND WE HOPE FRG MOD) WILL INDICATE PREFERENCE THAT WORDS BE ADDED TO TEXT. IF NOT SUPPORTED, SECDEF COULD THEN WITHDRAW FOOTNOTE, SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT OF FRG. YOU SHOULD DISCUSS THIS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 123854

COURSE OF ACTION WITH FRG REPS.

13. IN SUM, IF SYG EXHIBITS POSITIVE CONCERN TO OUR POSITION ON FOLLOW-THROUGH AND ORGANIZATION IMPROVEMENTS, WE ARE AMENABLE TO COMPROMISES DELINEATED ABOVE. WE FEEL IT ESSENTIAL THAT WE AND LUNS BE IN CLOSEST FEASIBLE AGREEMENT IF LTDP IS TO BE A SUCCESS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BOTH HAVE EACH OTHER'S CONFIDENCE AND UNDERSTAND AREAS OF CONTENTION SO COMPROMISES CAN BE MADE. HOWEVER, LUNS AND OTHER DEFMINs MUST APPRECIATE THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO THE LTDP AND WILL HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN SUSTAINING OUR COMMITMENT IF FOLLOW-THROUGH AND ORGANIZATION STRENGTHENING IS COMPROMISED TO LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR. GIVEN GROWING WP CAPABILITIES AND NEED FOR COMMENSURATE NATO RESPONSE, CONGRESS IS WATCHING TO SEE WHETHER ALLIES ARE SERIOUS ABOUT COMMON DEFENSE. THEIR ADVERSE ACTIONS ON NATO-RELATED PROGRAMS DURING RECENT MARKUP SESSIONS ARE MOST DISTURBING. WE MUST HAVE A BOLD LTDP WITH STRONG FOLLOW-THROUGH TO IMPRESS CONGRESS WITH ALLIED DETERMINATION.

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